

**ETHNOCENTRISM, CULTURAL
STEREOTYPES,
AND CAUSAL ATTRIBUTION.**

by

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ABSTRACT

A model linking causal attribution and cultural stereotypes through the mediating influence of expectancies is proposed and tested. Expectancies are believed to be based on cultural stereotypes (Deaux, 1984) and it has been shown that when expectancies are disconfirmed, attributions will be unstable and situational. This model was tested with Maori and Pakeha adolescents. Strong stereotypes emerged but, contrary to predictions, Pakeha subjects did not rate Maoris more positively than themselves on any dimensions, and, in line with Tajfel and Turner's (1979) discussion of minority group behaviour, this negative image of Maoris appears to have been adopted by Maoris themselves. Across other measures a similar pattern, though less extreme, emerged. While there was minimal support for the links between causal attributions and expectancies, and between cultural stereotypes and expectancies, there was no support for the proposed mediational model. This failure to replicate previous empirical findings is discussed in terms of the differential accessibility of the cultural stereotypes during the collection of causal attributions in this and previous experiments.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the relation between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions as mediated by expectancies. The proposed model is represented in figure one.

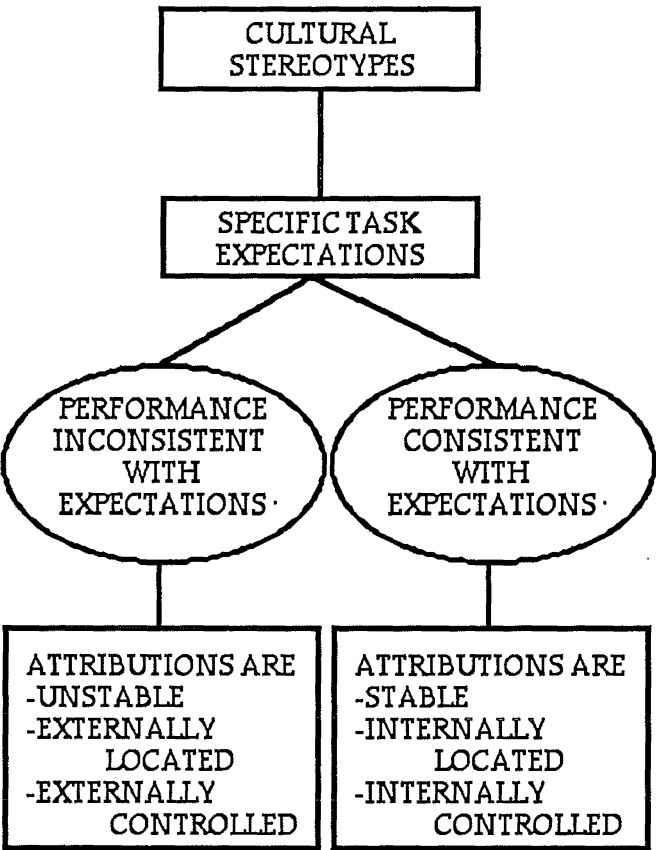


Figure One:
Model Representing The Proposed Link Between Cultural Stereotypes,
Expectancies and Causal Attributions.(Adapted from Deaux, 1984).

The model proposes that, if I hold a stereotype of members of some outgroup as being dishonest, I might, based on the belief in this stereotype, come to expect members of that outgroup to try to cheat me. For example, I might become particularly wary of shopkeepers belonging to that group,

expecting them to short change me or perhaps to sell me faulty goods. If a shopkeeper belonging to that group did short-change me I would be more likely to attribute it to dispositional characteristics of the individual (e.g., 'That person is dishonest.') as I would perceive my expectancies to have been confirmed, than to search for alternative explanations (e.g., 'That person was very busy and was unable to concentrate on what they were doing.'). A similar model has been proposed by Deaux (1984) based partly on the findings of Garland and Price (1977) who found that causal attributions of a woman manager's success are strongly related to an individual's generalized attitude towards women in management. Internal attributions for success were associated with more positive attitudes towards women in management, and external attributions were associated with more negative attitudes towards women in management.

In the following introduction I will define the terms cultural stereotypes, expectancies, and causal attributions and outline evidence for the separate links between the variables in the above model. Cultural stereotypes are believed to generate expectancies (Deaux, 1984; Hewstone, 1988; Stephan, 1985) and behaviour consistent with expectancies has been shown to be attributed to dispositional qualities of the actor, while behaviour inconsistent with expectancies is attributed situationally (Regan, Strauss and Faizio, 1974). I will outline empirical evidence dealing with the link between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions, which has generally been inconclusive.

CULTURAL STEREOTYPES

Research on stereotypes has steadily expanded over the decades despite continued criticism of the lack of theoretical integration with empirical findings (Eysenck and Crown, 1948; Ehrlich and Rinehart, 1965; Brigham, 1971; Cautheun, Robinson, & Krauss, 1972). Although today 'stereotype' is one of the terms most frequently employed in research and theorizing concerning intergroup perception and conflict (Brigham, 1971), there is much disagreement among researchers concerning the precise nature and function of stereotypes. One of the major issues facing stereotype research is that of definition (Brigham, 1971; Ashmore and Del Boca, 1981) as confusion exists concerning the boundaries between a number of inter-related terms: Schema (Neisser, 1976), Social schema (Taylor and Crocker, 1981), Stereotype (Lippman, 1922; Brigham, 1971) and Social representations (Moscovici, 1981; 1988).

The definition of 'stereotype' most widely accepted by social scientists is of

*"A set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people."
(Ashmore and Del Boca, 1981; p 16)*

This definition obscures major issues concerning the nature of stereotypes, including that of consensus. Widespread use of the Katz and Braly (1933) adjective check-list procedure for eliciting stereotypes has tacitly defined a belief as a stereotype only if it is held by a large number of people. However a belief does not have to be consensually agreed upon to be defined as a stereotype (Jones, 1977). Thus, if, for example, I hold the belief that all people with brown eyes are stupid that belief does not have to be shared by others for it to constitute part of my stereotype of brown eyed people. To overcome this problem it is proposed to offer the alternative term 'cultural stereotype' which can be defined as 'sets of beliefs about the personal

attributes of sets of people *which are consensually agreed upon*'. This distinction follows similar distinctions made by Ashmore and Del Boca (1979); Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969) and Tajfel (1981). Consensus has been shown to have considerable information value for the individual (Gardner, Kirby and Finlay, 1973), suggesting that, stereotypes may develop from information available to the community.

A further problem with the definition of stereotypes concerns the boundaries between stereotypes and expectancies. Jones (1977) has defined stereotypes as expectancies about particular groups of people. However, while stereotypes are beliefs about groups of people, expectancies are predictions of events. Stephan (1985) speaks of category based expectancies, which, in the case of intergroup perception, may be loosely based on the cultural stereotype. In this research cultural stereotypes and expectancies are considered as two separate and distinct variables.

EXPECTANCIES

While there appears to exist some confusion concerning the boundaries between cultural stereotypes and expectancies, the later term is used to refer to predictions of events. With this distinction there is evidence that in some cases expectancies may be based on a cultural stereotype (Deaux, 1984).

There are three principal origins of expectancies; direct experience with social situations and other people, observations of our own behaviour, and information we acquire indirectly through socialization (Stephan, 1985). Similarly, there are three main effects of expectancies; subjects seek information which is most likely to confirm expectancies (Snyder and Swann, 1978), prior expectancies influence the extent to which subjects selectively attend to expectancy confirming information (Langer and

Abelson, 1974), and subjects retention of expectancy-relevant information may be biased towards expectancy-confirming information (Zadny and Gerard, 1974).

Within the field of attribution theory Weiner et al (1972) have shown that, when expectancies are confirmed, attributions are made to stable, internal causes, while a performance discrepant with expectancies is attributed to unstable causes. Similarly, Regan, Strauss and Faizio (1974) found that behaviour in line with one's expectations of another is attributed dispositionally, while behaviour discrepant with expectations is attributed situationally. Pyszczynski and Greenberg (1981) reported that people base attributions on pre-existing causal theories when their expectancies are confirmed rather than seeking and processing potentially relevant information to form a new causal attribution. They also highlighted the possible connection between cultural stereotypes and expectancies, stating that individuals may form expectancies based on cultural stereotypes. If this is so, Pyszczynski and Greenberg's (1981) findings suggest that peoples' causal attributions of behaviour would be consistent with the previously held cultural stereotype. At an intergroup level Deaux (1984) has linked causal attributions to observer's initial expectations concerning performance. Thus, a male's successful performance on a 'masculine' task will be attributed more to ability than a females' successful performance (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974). Deaux suggested that expectancies for specific tasks could be understood in terms of more general stereotypes, and she reported some evidence that general attitudes towards women and men are correlated with attributions.

ATTRIBUTION THEORY AND THE MEDIATIONAL MODEL

Attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Jones and Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1967, 1973), which is often regarded as a primary paradigm within social psychology (Shaw and Constanzo, 1982), is concerned with the processes by which individuals explain and interpret events. In particular, it deals with the causal explanations that individuals construct for their own behaviour and that of others. Research based on attribution theory has recently been criticized for being too individualistic, neglecting the examination of attributions at the intergroup level (Apfelbaum and Herlich, 1971, cited in Tajfel and Forgas, 1981; Hamilton, 1978; Hewstone and Jaspars, 1982, 1984). As Turner (1981) has argued, individuals who belong to different groups achieve social identity from, and act in terms of, those group memberships. This is likely to affect the causal attributions made for events occurring in an intergroup setting. While attribution theory appears well suited to explaining the effects of social identity on intergroup relations (Hewstone, 1988) its importance, until recently, has been relatively ignored, as little research has been conducted to explore the effects of group membership on causal attributions.

Pettigrew (1979) posited the ultimate attribution error, suggesting that when prejudiced people perceive a negative act performed by an outgroup member they will be more likely to attribute it dispositionally compared with the same act performed by an ingroup member. He hypothesized four possible attributional alternatives which can be used to 'explain away' the perception of a positive act by a member of a despised outgroup without challenging prejudiced beliefs. By combining the internal/ external locus of control with the perceived degree of controllability of the act he produced the following four alternatives:

- A) The exceptional case.
- B) Luck or special advantage.
- C) High motivation and effort.
- D) Manipulable situational context.

Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) have also advanced a theory of social attribution, based largely on the work of Deschamps (1973-4) and centering on the role of social categorization and social representations. The integration of Pettigrew's (1979) work with that of Hewstone and Jaspars (1982; 1984) suggests the existence of a group-serving bias in causal attributions. The causal attributions made of performance by ingroup versus outgroup members will be structured so as to maintain a positive social identity (see Tajfel and Turner, 1979) for the attributor. Thus, the performance of negative behaviours by an outgroup member will be attributed to internal, stable causes while a positive performance would be attributed to external, unstable causes. The converse would be true of causal attributions made for the behaviour of ingroup members; the performance of positive behaviours will be attributed to internal, stable causes while the performance of negative behaviours will be attributed to external, unstable causes. While there is some empirical evidence for this group-serving bias in attributions, as outlined below, experimental findings have generally been inconclusive; a group-serving attribution bias has not occurred across all conditions, and the precise determinants of the effect are, as yet, unknown.

Duncan (1976) varied the ethnicity (Black/ White) of both the harm-doer and the victim in a video-taped interaction culminating in an ambiguous shove which could either be labeled as violent or non-violent. When the

harm-doer was Black, subjects, all of whom were White¹, attributed the violent behaviour to stable personality characteristics of the harm-doer. However, when the harm-doer was White, subjects attributed the behaviour to external, situational constraints. While Duncan (1976) established the phenomenon of a group-serving bias in attributions, his claim that his results are due to the presence of a stereotype of Blacks as violent is unfounded. There is no evidence that that specific stereotype of Blacks had been adopted and accessed by the subjects in this experiment as no attempt was made to measure their stereotypes of the two groups. Additionally, the manipulation check, cited as evidence that the stimulus tapes were equivalent, failed to produce differences in the extent to which the White and Black protagonists were labeled as aggressive, perhaps indicating that there were no differences in the extent to which these subjects stereotyped Blacks and Whites in that manner.

Mann and Taylor (1974) had French Canadians and English Canadians judge the relative importance of internal dispositions of actors in causing them to behave in either a socially desirable or undesirable way. While French Canadian subjects interpreted the behaviour of actors of their own ethnicity more favourably than English Canadian actors, this form of ethnocentrism did not serve as an accurate predictor of English Canadian subjects' causal attributions to the two groups. In fact, for some behaviours English Canadian subjects showed a more favourable attribution pattern for outgroup members than for ingroup members. This effect, which occurred for sociable-unsociable and considerate-inconsiderate behaviours, was

¹ In a conceptual replication of this study in which both Black and White subjects were tested Sagar and Schofield (1980) found that subjects, both black and white, rated an ambiguous act as more mean and threatening when it was performed by a Black than when it was performed by a White. They did not, however, explore the issue of intergroup causal attributions as no attempt was made to measure these.

explained as due to the cultural stereotypes held by English Canadians about French Canadians. Previous studies had shown that this stereotype included such traits as talkative, active, and sensitive, which the authors considered to be cognitively similar to sociable and considerate. Thus, they concluded, the outgroup favouring bias shown by English Canadians

" may represent a tendency for attributions to conform to stereotypes rather than to reflect ethnocentric attitudes." (Mann and Taylor, 1974; p11).

A possible link between causal attributions and cultural stereotypes was also documented by Taylor and Jaggi (1974) who asked subjects to attribute the behaviour of in-group (Hindu) or out-group (Muslim) actors performing either socially desirable or undesirable acts in terms of internal and external causes. Subjects showed a strong tendency to derogate the outgroup, in terms of both trait attribution and causal attributions. Causal attributions for out-group members performing socially desirable behaviours were external while causal attributions for undesirable acts were internal. The converse was true for causal attributions of the same behaviours performed by Hindu actors. The authors concluded that ethnocentric biases are not limited to generalized attitudes but may also be evidenced in the form of causal attributions for specific behaviours. However, there were a number of theoretical and methodological problems with the study, in particular:

1. Stereotype ratings were conducted immediately before the completion of the attribution phase, thus inducing an 'intergroup' response set.

2. Taylor and Jaggi (1974), reported data from Hindu subjects only, thus ignoring reciprocal intergroup attributions.¹

As Hewstone and Ward (1985) noted these and other methodological problems associated with this study potentially invalidate its conclusions.

Stephan (1977), who found that prejudicial attributions are limited to specific outgroups, highlighted the role of causal attributions in maintaining negative outgroup stereotypes. He suggested that the tendency to make prejudicial attributions is linked to the attitudes between groups; the more negative the attitudes the more likely it is that prejudicial attributions will be made against the outgroup. He concluded that

"The consequence of such attributional tendencies is to reinforce positive ingroup stereotyping by making positive dispositional attributions to ingroups more likely than negative dispositional attributions. These favourable stereotypes would result from a biased perception of everyday events...." (Stephan, 1977; p 265)

In a later study, however, Greenberg and Rosenfield (1979) argued against the proposed stereotype - attribution link. White American subjects were asked to attribute the causes of behaviour (success/ failure) by Blacks on an ESP task, chosen because it is unlikely that the cultural stereotype portrays Blacks as having less ESP ability than Whites. They found that the tendency to derogate the outgroup persists even when the behaviour is independent of the cultural stereotype and that ethnocentrism (as previously measured) is strongly related to the tendency to derogate the outgroup. The authors claim to have demonstrated that

¹Note that while there were several other methodological problems associated with this study these will not be mentioned here as they are fully detailed in Hewstone and Ward (1985).

"ethnocentrism itself, without the support of any particular negative stereotype, led to the derogatory attributions for the Blacks." (Greenberg and Rosenfield, 1979. p656)

thus undermining the proposed link between stereotypes and causal attributions. However, this study did not rule out the role of expectations, based on a cultural stereotype, as it is possible that highly ethnocentric subjects, the only ones who displayed an intergroup attribution bias, believed Blacks to be inferior on this task (see Hewstone, 1988).

Hewstone and Ward (1985) extended Taylor and Jaggi's (1974) study by reporting data from both Chinese and Malay in two differing socio-cultural areas; Malaysia and Singapore. Malay subjects showed a pattern of ethnocentric attribution in both Malaysia and Singapore while the Chinese subjects did not display an ethnocentric bias in either study. Indeed, the Chinese in Malaysia favoured the outgroup. Both these patterns of results were consistent with the stereotypes, as measured in each country, and were explained by the authors in terms of differing sociostructural and cultural influences. They concluded that Taylor and Jaggi's results were less generalizable than originally thought. Other researchers (Ho and Lloyd, 1983; Bornewasser, 1985) have also found inconsistencies with the occurrence of intergroup attributional biases.

A criticism that can be leveled at the studies that have been outlined above is that the methodologies may have artifactually inflated the relationship between causal attributions and cultural stereotypes by relying heavily on the induction and priming of stereotypes during, or in conjunction with, the collection of causal attributions. In addition, the research suffers from what Russell (1982) has termed the "fundamental attribution researcher error" (p1137) in-so-far as researchers have forced their own causal attributions, and their interpretation of those attributions, on subjects. Generally, experimenters have presented possible causes,

having decided beforehand what causal dimensions they occupy. A danger of this procedure is that the researcher and the attributor may not agree on the meaning of a causal dimension. As Weiner (1979) has noted, the placement of a causal attribution in terms of causal dimensions may vary greatly from person to person as well as from situation to situation. For example, a student who has performed poorly may attribute this to (lack of) effort perceiving this cause as unstable. The teacher may also attribute the poor performance to lack of effort but perceive this cause as stable, believing the student to be permanently lazy. Such disagreements are not limited to subjects as Deaux (1976) argues that 'task difficulty', used as the exemplar of a cause which is both stable and external (Weiner et al, 1972, Weiner, 1974) should be considered a temporary, or unstable, cause. To overcome these problems Russell (1982) developed the causal dimension scale in which subjects are asked to generate their own causal explanation and to rate it on scales representing the underlying causal dimensions (e.g., stability, controllability). The use of this method, which has received empirical support in terms of both reliability and validity (see Russell, McAuley and Tarico, 1987) is proposed for this study as it provides a reliable and valid method for measuring causal attributions.

A possible explanation for the non-occurrence of a group-serving attribution bias across all conditions in previous experiments may be found in the concept of complementary intergroup differentiation, which refers to a state of positive equilibrium in intergroup relations such that

"each group derives positive self-esteem from its' distinctive virtues and also positively references the secure superiorities of the outgroup."(Turner, 1980. p143),

Mummendey and Schreiber (1983) suggest that the typical findings of antagonistic intergroup differentiation, particularly those based on Tajfel's

(1971) reward allocation procedure, may in fact be an artifact of the experimental procedure (see Brewer, 1979). They state that the ingroup will only distinguish itself as 'better' at the expense of the outgroup...

"... if the subjects are not given the opportunity to assess both groups on non-corresponding dimensions, and therefore do not have the chance to rate them 'equally good' but 'different'." (Mummendey and Schreiber, 1983. p389)

The importance of considering the specific dimensions on which a group serving bias occurs was highlighted by Hewstone, Jaspars and Lalljee (1982) who illustrated that intergroup differentiation in attribution ratings is limited to particular dimensions. Public schoolboys attributed their own groups failure less to lack of ability and more to lack of effort than they did that of the outgroup. Comprehensive schoolboys differentiated success by ingroup versus outgroup members along the dimension 'Luck'; maintaining a positive social identity through attributing successful performance by an outgroup member to luck. This pattern of attributions was closely linked to the social representations held by the two groups of each other. Public schoolboys had emphasized the category of intellectual ability in their autostereotype and this, along with their reliance on this dimension in explaining ingroup success, was believed by the authors to be related to their desire to deny their privileged upbringing and school environment as a cause of their success. Comprehensive schoolboys, aware of their relatively disadvantaged position, attributed success by the outgroup to luck, referring to the inequity of the Public - Comprehensive school distinction.

In summary, while there are several studies demonstrating a group-serving bias in causal attributions, such a bias has not occurred across all experimental conditions and, in some studies, there has even be a reversal

of the expected trend. Results have usually been explained in terms of the stereotypes held of the two groups, and many studies have assumed a direct link between stereotypes and causal attributions. While this link was first proposed by Mann and Taylor (1974) it has not, as yet, been empirically tested. Although Greenberg and Rosenfield (1979) provide some evidence against such a link their evidence, as outlined above, is inconclusive. The aim of this research is to specifically test for a link between stereotypes and attributions, which is believed to be mediated by expectancies, through the use of multiple regression data analysis.

THE INTERETHNIC SITUATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Previous research demonstrating complementary intergroup differentiation has concentrated on either laboratory based groupings (Eg Mummendey and Schreiber, 1983; 1984) or other minimal groupings such as nurses (Ng and Cram, 1986; van Knippenberg and van Oers, 1984; Skevington, 1981.), who are not involved in open conflict. The present research investigates the occurrence of complementary intergroup differentiation in an inter-ethnic context. As previous laboratory based research in complementary intergroup differentiation has formed the basis of theoretical statements on the efficacy of contact in reducing intergroup conflict (see Brown and Hewstone, 1986) it is important to investigate the occurrence of this phenomenon in an interethnic context. It further extends the study of complementary intergroup differentiation by examining across both expectancies and causal attributions as well as cultural stereotypes.

Inter-ethnic relations in New Zealand are considered a potentially fruitful area to study complementary intergroup differentiation as previous research has generally evidence of an ambivalence in the attitudes of both Maoris

and Pakehas to each other. While Pakehas hold an overall negative view of Maoris, there are some positively valued dimensions on which they appear willing to differentiate the two groups in favour of Maoris. Similarly, Maoris in New Zealand appear ambivalent concerning their attitudes towards Pakehas.

Archer (1975) found that Pakeha adolescents tend to stereotype the Maori as happy-go-lucky, unsuccessful, lazy, musical and strong. Maori respondents tended to see the Pakeha as successful, good-looking, less humorous, weaker and less musical. Similarly, with both university and community samples, Graves and Graves (1985) found that Pakehas stereotyped the Maori as happy, easy-going to the point of being lazy, and friendly but clannish, whereas Maori respondents saw the Pakeha as arrogant, materialistic, selfish, and friendly but aloof.

Some aspects of the stereotypes described by Graves and Graves (1985) are clearly positive, such as friendly and musical. In addition Graves (1985) found that Pakeha university students saw Maori characteristics (E.G., happy, friendly, generous and easygoing) as being close to an ideal personality profile - closer even than the Pakeha characteristics. While reviews of empirical studies have demonstrated Pakeha prejudice and discrimination toward Maori people (Ramsay, 1982; St George, 1972), there are in fact no comprehensive studies of inter-racial attitudes in New Zealand (Fisher, 1984).

AIMS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH.

From the above summary of empirical investigations concerning social attribution it can be seen that the precise determinants of the group serving bias in attributions, and in particular the relationship between stereotypes and causal attributions, has not as yet been firmly established. The present study aims to provide a more thorough investigation of the phenomenon, while overcoming the methodological shortcomings of previous studies in this field, by examining these phenomenon in Maori and Pakeha subjects.

Following Deaux (1984; see Figure One) a model is proposed linking cultural stereotypes and causal attributions through the mediating link of expectancies. Stereotypes, and both expectancies and causal attributions of the performance of behaviours based on these stereotypes, will be collected from Maori and Pakeha subjects judging either members of their own group or the outgroup. From previously obtained free-response stereotypes it is proposed to collect cultural stereotypes on four distinct sets of traits which vary according to whether they are positive or negative and whether they apply to Maoris or Pakehas. Eight behaviours based on these traits, two from each category, will be used to elicit both expectancies and causal attributions, the latter of which will be measured using a variant of the causal attribution scale (Russell, 1982), which has been shortened and reworded so that it can be more easily understood by adolescents, the subjects in this experiment. While this procedure has the advantage of being a reliable and valid method available for the collection of causal attributions (Russell et al, 1987), it also avoids the problems of others studies (e.g. Hewstone and Ward, 1985) whose attribution measures relied heavily on the use of previously measured stereotypes in the possible causes which they cited. To avoid the direct priming of the stereotypes during the attribution phase the following steps are also taken:

1) Actors will be identified by first name only during the attribution phase; their ethnicity will not be explicitly stated as in previous experiments.

2) The measurement of cultural stereotypes will be conducted in a separate and prior experimental session from the collection of causal attributions. These two sessions will be separated by a period of eight days to avoid replies on the first questionnaire prompting replies to the second.

3) Each subject will be required to rate only one ethnic group throughout both phases of the experiment. This will avoid the induction of a direct intergroup comparison which could artifactually raise the levels of bias displayed.

HYPOTHESES

Subjects of both ethnic groups will display a group-serving bias to some degree on all measures:

1) On the measure of cultural stereotypes subjects will rate their own group more positively than the outgroup.

A) Negative traits will be rated more characteristic of the outgroup than the ingroup.

B) Positive traits will be rated as more characteristic of the ingroup than the outgroup.

2) A group-serving bias will occur in the expectancy ratings.

A) Expectancies will be higher for negative behaviours to be performed by the outgroup than by the ingroup.

B) Expectancies will be higher for positive behaviours to be performed by the ingroup than by the outgroup.

3) A group-serving bias will occur in the causal attributions

A) Performance of a positive act by an ingroup member will be attributed to internal, stable and internally controlled causes.

B) Performance of a negative act by an ingroup member will be attributed to external, unstable and externally controlled causes.

C) Performance of a positive act by an outgroup member will be attributed to external, unstable and externally controlled causes.

D) Performance of a negative act by an outgroup member will be attributed to internal, stable and internally controlled causes.

4) A complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation will occur across all measures. Both ethnic groups will rate the outgroup more favourably on some dimensions. Despite this the overall pattern will remain; subjects will rate their own group more positively than the outgroup.

5) The mediational model exemplified in Figure two will accurately describe how the three variables are related.

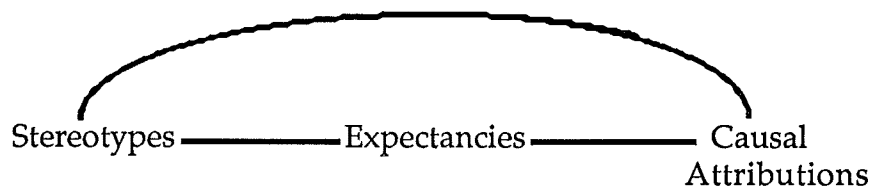


Figure 2:

Diagram Illustrating The link Between Cultural Stereotypes And Causal Attributions Through The Mediating Link Of Expectancies.

Following from Baron and Kenny (1986) the following four conditions would have to be met before Expectancies could be classed as a mediating variable:

A) Variations in the levels of cultural stereotypes will be positively and significantly related to variations in the levels of causal attributions.

B) Variations in the levels of cultural stereotypes will be positively and significantly related to variations in the levels of expectancies.

C) Variations in the levels of expectancies will be positively and significantly related to variations in the levels of causal attributions.

D) If the effect of expectancies is removed, the relationship between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions will be reduced.

METHOD

SUBJECTS

The subjects were 274 fifth form students from twelve separate classes at an Auckland high school. There was a total of fifty-six Maoris; 20 of whom rated Maori targets (10 males and 10 females) while 36 rated Pakeha targets (13 males and 23 females). There were 119 Pakeha subjects; 62 rating Maoris (21 males and 41 females) and 57 rating Pakehas (22 male and 35 female).¹

PROCEDURE AND OVERVIEW

To avoid possible demand characteristics, the questionnaires were distributed in two separate sessions, separated by a period of eight days. Questionnaires were distributed at the beginning of the first period of the day by the classes' normal teachers. For the cultural stereotype-rating questionnaire, subjects were instructed that this research concerned what individuals think of different groups of people. Subjects were asked to work on the task individually, informed that there were no right or wrong answers, and assured that their answers would remain anonymous.

The second session, conducted 8 days later, was introduced as research into how people explain other peoples' behaviour, and the instructions on the front of the attribution questionnaire booklet were read to them. Additionally, a trial question was presented to them orally, and the teacher worked through this example with them, suggesting a number of alternative causes for the sample behaviour and rating each of these causes

¹A full breakdown of the subject sample according to age and the eight ethnic groups listed on the questionnaire appears in appendix 1.

on the six scales contained in the questionnaire. As in the first session the following points were emphasized; pupils should work on the task individually, there were no right or wrong answers, answers were anonymous, and all questions should be answered.

To avoid the induction of a direct comparison between the target groups, each subject rated only one of the ethnic groups. Thus a 2 (subject ethnicity) X 2 (target ethnicity) between-subjects design was employed.

Each subject's questionnaires were identified as belonging to the same person by using subject numbers.

MEASURES

CULTURAL STEREOTYPE-RATING QUESTIONNAIRE

The traits used in this study were selected from the results of Oliver and Vaughan's (1988) study in which fifth form school children from Auckland were given a free-response questionnaire where they were asked to write down the words and phrases they thought best described Pakehas, Maoris and Samoans. Data were content analysed by developing a unique set of categories, each category representing words of similar meaning. The results of this analysis, for Maoris and Pakehas only, are presented in appendix 2.

Based on this analysis, 16 trait descriptors were selected which clearly differentiated between the two groups. Based on the percentages of subjects who attributed these trait categories to either group, eight were considered Maori typical while the remaining eight were Pakeha typical. On an ad hoc basis, eight of these were considered positive while the remaining eight were considered negative. The sixteen trait descriptors selected by these criteria are presented in Table One.

The first part of the questionnaire (see appendix 3) listed the 16 trait descriptors in alphabetical order and asked subjects to vividly imagine a typical Maori/ Pakeha and rate how well each of the words described that person. Beside each word was a 7 point scale (end points Not At All Well, Very Well). The second part of the questionnaire again listed the sixteen personalty characteristics and asked subjects to rate how desirable it was for a typical Maori/ Pakeha to be described by those words. Beside each word was a 7 point scale (end points Not At All Desirable, Very Desirable). The order of presentation of the two parts of the questionnaire was controlled by reversing the order for half the subjects in each group.

Table 1
Trait Descriptors As Used In Cultural Stereotype - Rating Questionnaire.

	MAORI TYPICAL	PAKEHA TYPICAL
	KIND	CLEVER
POSITIVE	CARING	HARDWORKING
	FRIENDLY	CONFIDENT
	PROUD	RICH
	LAZY	SNOBBISH
NEGATIVE	DIRTY	CONCEITED
	AGGRESSIVE	SELFISH
	GET IN TROUBLE	APPEARANCE CONSCIOUS

EXPECTANCY AND CAUSAL ATTRIBUTION QUESTIONNAIRE.

Eight of the trait descriptors from the cultural stereotype questionnaire (two from each cell) were selected as the basis for the development of behaviours for use in the second questionnaire (see appendix 4). Scenarios were developed that were based on the trait descriptors but did not contain the specific words used in part one (for example, 'Aggressive' became 'Had a fight'). All scenarios were kept as brief as possible and were chosen to be meaningful to the lives of fifth formers and were mostly related to school. The specific behaviours used are presented in Table Two.

Table Two;
Behaviours Presented In The Expectancy/ Attribution Questionnaire
According To Ethnicity and Positivity.

	MAORI TYPICAL	PAKEHA TYPICAL
POSITIVE	AHI TRIED TO CHEER YOU UP WHEN YOU WERE DEPRESSED AHI INVITED YOU TO COME TO A PARTY	AHI CAME FIRST IN YOUR HISTORY EXAM AHI STUDIED ALOT FOR A GEOGRAPHY REPORT
NEGATIVE	AHI HAD A FIGHT WITH A CLASS - MATE AHI WAS SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL	AHI BRAGGED TO YOU ABOUT DOING WELL IN THE SCHOOL SPORTS AHI REFUSED TO LEND YOU A CALCULATOR EVEN THOUGH IT WASN'T BEING USED

NOTE The name Ahi has been selected as an example; in the questionnaire there was a different name paired with each behaviour.

Actors were identified as either Maori or Pakeha through the use of first names, the names selected being gender neutral. To counteract the possibility that one or more of these names may be overly associated with either gender a counter-balanced design was used so that each name was paired with each behaviour an equal number of times. The names selected are presented in Table Three.

Table Three:
Maori And Pakeha Names Used In Expectancy/ Attribution Questionnaire¹

MAORI	PAKEHA
AHI	BRETT
AWA	CHRIS
HIWI	DALE
HUI	JAMIE
MUTU	KERRY
RANGI	LEE
RETA	LINDSEY
WHETU	ROBIN

Each scenario was written on the top of a new page and subjects were asked firstly to rate how much they would have expected this behaviour to occur on a seven point scale (end points, Very unexpected, Very expected) and then write what they perceived as the single major cause of this behaviour. They were then asked to rate this cause on the following questions, each of which was rated on a 7-point scale with end-points of Not

¹I wish to thank F. Te Rangiwhaniwa Rakurau, lecturer, Maori department, Canterbury University, for helping to select appropriate Maori names.

at all/ Very much, except for the question dealing with stability which had end-points of Stable/ Unstable:

To what extent is this cause due to something about (name)?

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

To what extent is this cause controlled by (name)?

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

A random order of pages was employed for each individual booklet so that no two booklets were the same in terms of both name-behaviour pairings and order of presentation.

RESULTS

DESIRABILITY RATINGS

The desirability data from all subjects combined were factor-analysed by a principal-components analysis. One main factor emerged to account for 37.1% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 5.93. Two remaining factors with eigenvalues greater than one both had eigenvalues less than 2.4. All positive items loaded positively and significantly on the first factor while all negative items, with the exception of Appearance Conscious which had a positive load, loaded negatively and significantly on this unrotated factor. These results suggest that a positive-negative dimension underlies the stereotype ratings. On the basis of this analysis, which validated the prior classification of all but one of the traits, Appearance Conscious was excluded from all subsequent analyses.

A t-test conducted on the desirability ratings for the two groups of traits (positive/negative), with ratings collapsed across cells, indicated a highly significant difference ($t(204) = 18.26, p < 0.001$) in the desirability of the two sets. This was in the expected direction with positive traits being rated significantly more desirable ($M = 38.33$) than the negative traits ($M = 21.52$).

ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL STEREOTYPE DATA .

Analyses were performed in which the data were collapsed into the four categories of Maori-positive, Maori-negative, Pakeha-positive and Pakeha-negative traits. 2X2 ANOVAs, with subject ethnicity and target ethnicity as a between subjects factor, were performed on the data, the results of which

appear in Table Four.¹

There was a significant main effect for target ethnicity on the Pakeha-positive traits, with these items being judged as more characteristic of Pakehas ($M = 18.73$) than Maoris ($M = 15.58$). There were also significant main effects for target ethnicity on both Maori-positive and Maori-negative traits both of which were, however, qualified by significant interaction effects.

Contrary to predictions, Maori-positive traits were judged to be more representative of Pakehas ($M = 19.88$) than Maoris ($M = 17.28$). However, while Maori subjects judged the two groups as equivalent on these items (Maori targets $M = 18.75$ and Pakeha targets $M = 18.83$), Pakeha subjects showed a marked tendency to favour their own group ($M = 20.47$) over the outgroup² ($M = 16.86$).

For the Maori-negative traits, all subjects showed a tendency to favour Pakehas by rating these negative traits more characteristic of Maoris ($M = 15.86$) than Pakehas ($M = 13.04$). This tendency was, however, more marked in Pakeha subjects (Maori targets $M = 16.27$ and Pakeha targets $M = 12.67$) than in Maori subjects (Maori targets $M = 14.40$ and Pakeha targets $M = 13.68$). Similarly, there was a significant interaction effect on the Pakeha-negative traits, with both groups showing a tendency to derogate the outgroup.

¹Gender as a between-subjects factor in this and subsequent analyses are not reported as gender differences are not central to this research.

² The terms 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' as used throughout this report can be defined as follows; an 'ingroup' is any social group of which an individual is identifiably a member. 'Outgroups' are any social groups to which an individual does NOT belong (Brewer, 1984). In this report 'outgroup', when referring to Maori subjects, means Pakehas; when referring to Pakehas, it is used to mean Maoris.

Table 4

Mean Ratings Of How Characteristic Each Of The Four Groups Of Traits Are Judged Across The Four Experimental Cells

	MAORIS RATING		PAKEHAS RATING		SUBJECT ETHNICITY	F - VALUE	
	MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS		TARGET ETHNICITY	SUBJECT * TARGET INTERACTION
MAORI POSITIVE	18.75	18.83	16.86	20.47	0.24	18.58****	6.62 **
MAORI NEGATIVE	14.40	13.68	16.27	12.67	0.01	18.52****	3.89 **
PAKEHA POSITIVE	15.70	18.90	15.54	18.64	0.17	37.93****	0.01
PAKEHA NEGATIVE	8.25	11.98	10.23	9.55	1.45	0.87	13.47****

NOTE Scores could range between 4 and 28 except for the 'Pakeha Positive' traits, which could range between 3 and 21. In both cases the upper end of the scale represents 'very characteristic' while the lower end represents 'not at all characteristic'.

* $P < 0.07$
** $P < 0.05$
*** $P < 0.005$
**** $P < 0.001$

In summary, on three of the four set of items (Maori-positive, Maori-negative and Pakeha-positive) there were target main effects, with Pakehas being rated more positively than Maoris. While this main effect was in the predicted direction for two of the sets of traits (Maori-negative and Pakeha-positive), it was in the opposite direction from predictions for the Maori-positive set of traits. Thus, a complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation failed to emerge. Pakehas, the dominant social group, were favoured on the majority of dimensions while no ratings favoured Maoris.

On both the Maori-positive and Maori-negative sets of items, Maoris showed only a slight tendency to favour Pakehas while this tendency was accentuated for Pakeha subjects. On the Pakeha-negative set of items, both groups of subjects showed a tendency to derogate the outgroup. While the tendency to favour the ingroup was apparent for Pakeha subjects across the four sets of traits, this last set of traits, Pakeha-negative, was the only one in which Maori subjects showed a tendency to favour their own group.

EXPECTANCY AND ATTRIBUTION QUESTIONNAIRE

The data were not analysed item by item but were collapsed into broader categories based on the prior classification of the eight behaviours presented in this questionnaire (see Table One in Method).

3.EXPECTANCIES

Data were collapsed into the four categories of Maori-positive, Maori-negative, Pakeha-positive and Pakeha-negative behaviours with each category consisting of the expectancy ratings of two separate behaviours. The

mean responses of each of the four experimental cells to these items, along with the results of a 2 (target ethnicity) X 2 (subject ethnicity) between-subjects ANOVA, are presented in Table Five.

For the Maori-positive traits¹ there was a significant effect for the ethnicity of the subjects with Maoris ($M = 10.17$) expecting these behaviours to occur significantly more than Pakehas ($M = 9.12$), regardless of the ethnicity of the actor.

There was a significant main effect for the ethnicity of the target on the Pakeha-positive group of traits. In line with predictions, subjects, regardless of their own ethnicity, expected these behaviours to be performed significantly more often for Pakeha actors ($M = 10.17$) than for Maori actors ($M = 8.84$).

There were significant interaction effects for both the Maori-negative and Pakeha-negative traits. Maori subjects displayed a group-serving bias on both groups of items, expecting both Maori-negative (For Pakeha targets $M = 9.36$ and Maori targets $M = 7.57$) and Pakeha-negative (For Pakeha targets $M = 9.28$ and Maori targets $M = 7.96$) behaviours to be performed more often by Pakehas than by Maoris. Pakehas also displayed a group-serving bias on the Pakeha-negative behaviours, expecting these behaviours to be performed more often by Maoris ($M = 9.37$) than by Pakehas ($M = 8.81$), while they appeared even-handed on the Maori-negative behaviours, expecting these behaviours to be performed as much by Pakehas ($M = 8.37$) as by Maoris ($M = 8.38$).

In summary, there was a main effect for both subject ethnicity, with Maori subjects expecting the Maori-positive behaviours to occur significantly more than the Pakeha subjects did, and target ethnicity. In line

¹Note that while these have been labeled Maori positive they were, in fact, rated as being more characteristic of Pakehas in the first questionnaire.

Table 5

Mean Expectancy Ratings Of The Four Groups Of Behaviours Across The Four Experimental Cells

	MAORIS RATING		PAKEHAS RATING		SUBJECT ETHNICITY	F - VALUE TARGET ETHNICITY		SUBJECT * TARGET INTERACTION
	MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS				
MAORI POSITIVE	10.57	9.95	8.66	9.67	4.97 *	1.23		3.09
MAORI NEGATIVE	7.57	9.36	8.38	8.37	0.35	1.75		3.99 **
PAKEHA POSITIVE	9.00	9.79	8.79	10.43	0.47	10.85****		0.87
PAKEHA NEGATIVE	7.96	9.28	9.37	8.81	0.58	0.00		4.16 **

NOTE Scores could range between 2 and 14. The upper end of the scale represents 'very expected' while the lower end represents 'very unexpected'.

- * $P < 0.07$
- ** $P < 0.05$
- *** $P < 0.005$
- **** $P < 0.001$

with predictions, the Pakeha-positive behaviours were expected significantly more often for Pakehas than for Maoris. Maori subjects expected both sets of negative behaviours more often for Pakehas than for Maoris. While this general ethnocentric bias was in line with predictions for the Pakeha-negative set of behaviours it was opposite to predictions for the Maori-negative behaviours. Pakeha subjects were even-handed on the Maori-negative set of traits but, contrary to predictions, showed a group-serving bias on the Pakeha-negative set of traits.

4 ATTRIBUTION DATA

Data from the four attribution scales dealing with locus and controllability were collapsed into one scale to provide a test of a positive versus a negative attribution style¹. The data were recoded so that for positive behaviours, ratings on the external scales were reversed while, for negative behaviours, ratings on the internal scales were reversed. Thus, the transformed scale, which could range between 4 and 28, represented at its lower end a negative attribution style with performance of negative behaviours being attributed internally and the performance of positive behaviours being 'explained away' as external. The higher end represented a positive attribution style with performance of positive behaviours being attributed internally and the performance of negative behaviours being attributed externally. The reliability of this transformed scale was tested by submitting it to a series of four internal reliability analyses, one for each of

¹An initial internal reliability analysis, which included all attribution scales, indicated that ratings on the stability dimension did not provide a reliable measure of a negative versus positive attribution style. Corrected item total correlations for these items were all less than 0.10, thus these items were excluded from the collapsed scale and analysed separately.

the four experimental cells. The resultant alphas were 0.79 for Maoris rating Maoris, 0.72 for Maoris rating Pakehas, 0.77 for Pakehas rating Maoris, and 0.83 for Pakehas rating Pakehas. These results show the transformed scale provided a reliable measure of a positive-negative attribution style across the four experimental cells. Total scores were created for each subject and submitted to analysis by a 2 (target ethnicity) X 2 (subject ethnicity) between-subjects ANOVA, the results of which appear in Table Six.

For the Maori-positive behaviours there was a significant main effect for target ethnicity, with performance of these behaviours being attributed more positively for Pakehas ($M = 40.38$) than for Maoris ($M = 36.85$). Similarly, the main effect for target ethnicity on the Maori-negative behaviours was close to significance ($p < 0.055$). Again the performance of these behaviours was attributed more positively to Pakehas ($M = 38.42$) than to Maoris ($M = 36.28$). While these results are not contrary to the predictions, the overall low level of attributional biases shown on these measures, and particularly the absence of any significant interaction effects, is surprising.

Table 6

Mean Attribution Ratings Of The Four Groups Of Behaviours Across The Four Experimental Cells

	MAORIS RATING		PAKEHAS RATING		SUBJECT ETHNICITY	F - VALUE		SUBJECT * TARGET INTERACTION
	MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS		TARGET ETHNICITY		
MAORI POSITIVE	35.30	39.93	37.39	40.69	0.93	8.45 ***		0.23
MAORI NEGATIVE	35.65	36.88	36.50	39.48	2.07	3.78 *		0.43
PAKEHA POSITIVE	39.13	41.60	40.92	42.80	1.31	2.97		0.05
PAKEHA NEGATIVE	35.74	38.12	37.86	39.28	1.73	2.34		0.16

NOTE Scores could range between 8 and 56. The upper end of the scale represents a positive attribution style while the lower end represents a negative attribution style. Thus, for negative behaviours the upper end represents external attributions and the lower end represents internal attributions while for positive behaviours the upper end represents internal attributions and the lower end represents external attributions.

- * $P < 0.07$
- ** $P < 0.05$
- *** $P < 0.005$
- **** $P < 0.001$

5. STABILITY

As before, the stability scores were collapsed across the four groups of behaviours and analysed by a 2 (target ethnicity) X 2 (subject ethnicity) between - subjects ANOVA. The results of this analysis are presented in Table Seven.¹

For the Maori-positive behaviours, there was a main effect for the ethnicity of the actor. Surprisingly, the performance of these positive behaviours was seen as more unstable if they were performed by a Pakeha ($M = 8.08$) than if they were performed by a Maori ($M = 7.19$). For the Pakeha-positive set of behaviours the interaction effect neared significance ($p < 0.065$) with both groups rating the performance of these behaviours as more unstable if they were performed by the outgroup than if they were performed by a member of their own group.

Contrary to predictions, there was only a small amount of intergroup bias shown on this measure, as a trend towards a group-serving attribution bias was apparent on only one of the four sets of traits.

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL STEREOTYPES, EXPECTANCIES AND CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS.

The three measures of cultural stereotypes, expectancies and causal attributions were entered separately into multiple regression equations to

¹Note that due to the manner in which the data were recoded a high score for the positive behaviours indicates that performance was attributed to stable causes while the converse is true for the negative behaviours; a high score indicates that the performance of these behaviours was attributed to unstable causes.

Table 7

Mean Stability Ratings Of The Four Groups Of Behaviours Across The Four Experimental Cells

	MAORIS RATING		PAKEHAS RATING		SUBJECT ETHNICITY	F - VALUE TARGET ETHNICITY		SUBJECT * TARGET INTERACTION
	MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS				
MAORI POSITIVE	6.43	7.69	7.45	8.33	2.92	5.31	**	0.15
MAORI NEGATIVE	9.48	8.79	8.59	9.00	0.34	0.03		1.87
PAKEHA POSITIVE	6.26	6.98	8.03	7.03	2.69	1.13		3.41 *
PAKEHA NEGATIVE	8.87	8.28	7.55	8.08	2.65	0.24		1.56

NOTE Scores could range between 2 and 14. The upper end of the scale represents 'unstable' attributions while the lower end represents 'stable' attributions.

- * $P < 0.07$
- ** $P < 0.05$
- *** $P < 0.005$
- **** $P < 0.001$

test the model postulated as linking stereotypes and causal attributions with expectancies as a mediating variable. Following Baron and Kenny (1986) the following three conditions would have to be met before Expectancies could be classed as a mediating variable:

(1) Variations in levels of cultural stereotype ratings would significantly account for variations in expectancies.

(2) Variations in expectancies would significantly account for variations in causal attributions, and

(3) when the paths linking cultural stereotypes with expectancies and expectancies with causal attributions are controlled, a previously significant relationship between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions would be diminished. This is presented diagrammatically in figure two (see introduction).

A separate multiple regression equation was computed for each of the four groups of behaviours (Maori-positive, Maori-negative, Pakeha-positive, Pakeha-negative) across the four experimental cells;¹ thus a total of sixteen multiple regressions were performed.

Three regression coefficients were derived for each equation yielding 48 coefficients. Of the sixteen equations, eight yielded a statistically significant relation while none of the equations yielded more than one significant relationship. It can be concluded that there is no evidence for the existence of a mediational model linking the three variables. Evidence for each of the three links in the above model is outlined separately.

¹Running separate regressions is required because Maoris and Pakehas rated the cultural stereotypes differently.

CULTURAL STEREOTYPE-ATTRIBUTION LINK

There was virtually no support for the existence of a link between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions, with only one of the sixteen regression equations reaching significance. When Maori subjects were asked to rate Maori targets on the Maori-positive set of traits there was a significant relation between stereotypes and attributions which yielded a zero-order correlation of 0.49 ($p < 0.05$). This was in the hypothesized direction, behaviour consistent with the cultural stereotype was attributed internally and inconsistent behaviour was attributed externally. However, given the possibility of a Type One error, it can be concluded that there is no evidence of a link between stereotypes and attributions.

CULTURAL STEREOTYPE-EXPECTANCY LINK

When Pakeha subjects were asked to rate Maori targets there was a significant relationship between cultural stereotypes and expectancies for the following sets of items; Pakeha-positive ($\beta = 0.64, p < 0.0001$), Maori-positive ($\beta = 0.287, p < 0.05$) and Maori-negative ($\beta = 0.277, p < 0.05$). These results were in the expected direction; the more the trait was seen as characteristic of that group the more the behaviour based on that trait was expected to be performed. No further equations yielded a significant relationship between these variables and thus there is only weak support for the existence of a link between stereotypes and expectancies.

EXPECTANCY-ATTRIBUTION LINK

When Maori subjects were asked to rate Pakeha targets there was a significant relationship between expectancies and attributions for both the Pakeha-positive ($\beta = 0.54, p < 0.001$) and Maori-positive ($\beta = 0.34, p < 0.05$) sets of items. When Maoris rated Maoris there was a significant relationship between these variables for the Pakeha-negative set of items ($\beta = 0.50, p < 0.05$) and when Pakehas were asked to rate Pakehas there was a significant relationship between expectancies and attributions for the Maori-positive set of items ($\beta = 0.307, p < 0.05$). The more these behaviours were expected to be performed the more internally they were attributed. Thus there is only weak support for the existence of a link between expectancies and attributions.

DISCUSSION

In the following discussion I will firstly consider the results obtained for each of the three measures individually; cultural stereotypes, expectancies and causal attributions. The proposed complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation will then be discussed, followed by an elaboration of the mediational model. Finally, I will draw some conclusions and make some suggestions for further research in this area.

CULTURAL STEREOTYPES

It is apparent that Auckland adolescents hold firm stereotypes of both Maoris and Pakehas. In line with findings of previous research, Pakehas' stereotypes of Maoris were found to be predominantly negative and, as Archer and Archer (1970) reported, this negative stereotype of Maoris appears to have been adopted by Maori subjects as well. The tendency for Maoris to favour the outgroup was echoed in the causal attribution ratings. Possible reasons for this outgroup-serving bias are discussed in the causal attribution section.

EXPECTANCIES

Overall there was only a weak level of bias displayed in the expectancy ratings relative to that displayed in the stereotype ratings. There was a target-

based bias in expectancies for only one of the four set of behaviours - the Pakeha-positive behaviours.

Significant interaction effects occurred for both sets of negative behaviours; on Maori-negative behaviours, Maori subjects showed a strong ethnocentric bias, and Pakeha subjects were relatively even-handed, while for the Pakeha-negative behaviours both groups were ethnocentric. For the later behaviours this tendency was, however, more marked in Maoris than in Pakehas. This willingness on the part of Maori subjects to show an ethnocentric bias on expectancy ratings is intriguing given that they showed a tendency, if anything, to be other-serving in the stereotype ratings.

CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS

The high internal reliability for the amended causal attribution scale indicates that the subjects did adopt an attribution style varying along a positive - negative dimension. These results suggest that the subjects understood the task and that reliable and valid attribution data were obtained.

A group-serving bias in attributions did occur, but appeared relatively weaker than the bias shown in the stereotype ratings. Both groups showed a tendency to be group-serving in the stability ratings of the Pakeha-positive set of traits, and the stability ratings of the Maori-positive behaviours were rated as more unstable if they were performed by a Pakeha than if they were performed by a Maori. Maori-positive behaviours were attributed as being more internal if they were performed by a Pakeha than if they were performed by a Maori, while Maori negative behaviours were attributed more externally if they were performed by a Pakeha than if they were

performed by a Maori. Thus, Maoris, who may be characterized as belonging to a minority group adopted a more positive attribution style towards Pakehas, the dominant social group. This more positive attribution style adopted for members of the dominant social group is in line with the theoretical analysis of attributions by a minority group offered by Deschamps (1973-74) and Hewstone and Jaspars (1984; p398):

"Under certain conditions social attributions will not function to provide a positive ingroup identity, e.g., certain minority-majority group relations. In this case, members of the 'objectively' inferior group will make attributions which tend to devalue the ingroup and favour the outgroup."

This hypothesis, and the data supporting it, undermines the theory of ethnocentrism, which, despite its popularity (LeVine and Campbell, 1972), does have problems (see Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In particular, it does not seem applicable to members of some minority groups. In many studies, such groups have been found to devalue their own groups (Clark and Clark, 1947; Milner, 1975; 1981; See Vaughan, 1987). In attribution terms this leads to the prediction that members of such minority groups will show a more favourable pattern of attributions for outgroup members than for ingroup members. There are two possible explanations for this effect. The first of these is that, through socialization, a member of a minority group may come to share the beliefs and attitudes of the wider society concerning racial membership. Thus they will come share the wider society's negative image of their own group and devalue it.

A further explanation for this outgroup-serving bias is offered by Stephan (1977) who states that it may be based on a greater liking for the outgroup on the part of minority group members. Within attribution theory there is

evidence that more dispositional attributions are made to positive behaviours of favourably described individuals than to their negative behaviour. The converse applies for causal attributions of the behaviour of disliked people; more dispositional attributions are made for their negative behaviours than for their positive behaviours (Bell, Wicklund, Manko and Larkin, cited in Stephan, 1977).

COMPLEMENTARY INTERGROUP DIFFERENTIATION

Contrary to the theory outlined in the introduction, a complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation failed to emerge in the stereotype ratings, as none of the positively valued traits were judged to be Maori-typical. Similarly, none of the positive behaviours were either expected to be performed more by Maoris or attributed more internally to Maoris compared with Pakehas. This is despite the fact that previous researchers have found that a number of positive traits appear to apply to Maoris, including several used in this study. For example, Graves and Graves (1985) found friendly and kind (as well as other positive traits e.g., happy) to be part of the perceived characteristics of Polynesian cultures. Similarly, Graves (1985), found that the personality profile of Maoris is closer to the ideal personality profile than the Pakeha personality profile, as rated by Pakeha subjects. He also noted that friendly is one of the adjectives rated as being characteristic of Maoris.

A possible explanation for these findings lies in an examination of the subject samples used in experiments demonstrating a complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation. These studies have used either minimal groups in laboratory based experimental research, or, as in the case

of Ng and Cram (1986), differentially trained nurses. These are relatively minimal formations as the group members are in close contact with each other and become virtually indistinguishable during everyday working conditions. As yet, no research has found evidence of a complementary pattern of intergroup differentiation between ethnic groups. This could be due to the relatively higher personal commitment that individuals have to ethnic group memberships. In terms of social identity theory it can be stated that the social identity derived from ones' ethnic group membership is more central to ones' self-concept, or personal identity. It is possible, than, that as social identity becomes more central, or important, to the self-concept, individuals are less willing to concede any superiority to an outgroup.

Given the fact that previous experimental work on complementary intergroup differentiation has been applied, at a theoretical level, to expand the contact theory of conflict reduction, coupled with the above speculation that complementary intergroup differentiation may not occur in situations in which social identity becomes highly central, it becomes clear that further empirical research, examining complementary intergroup differentiation in an inter-ethnic setting, is needed.

MEDIATIONAL MODEL LINKING CULTURAL STEREOTYPES AND CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS.

Overall, there was no empirical support for a model linking cultural stereotypes and causal attributions through the mediating link of expectancies. First, I will discuss the individual evidence for each of the three links before considering the overall failure of a significant mediational model to emerge, and possible reasons for this failure.

Strongest support was obtained for the path linking causal attributions and expectancies. In line with the results of Weiner et al (1972), and Regan, Strauss and Faizio (1974) there was a tendency for behaviour in line with expectancies to be attributed internally while behaviour discrepant with expectancies was attributed externally.

There was only weak support for the existence of a link between cultural stereotypes and expectancies, with only three of the sixteen equations calculated between these two variables reaching significance. These significant relations were in the hypothesized direction with belief in a cultural stereotype being positively related to an expectancy of behaviour based on that stereotype being performed. Thus, it appears that in some cases cultural stereotypes can significantly affect expectancies of behaviour. This finding provides general support for Deaux's (1984) and Pyszczynski and Greenberg's (1981) hypothesis that cultural stereotypes may lead to the formation of category based expectancies. However, as Stephan (1985) notes situation based expectancies are often important and interactions may occur between these and category based expectancies. Category based expectancies are clearly different from situation expectancies as, while the former are based on the group membership of the actor, the later are based on situational constraints. The difference between these two types of expectancies is likely to explain the failure of a significant relation between cultural stereotypes and expectancies to emerge across all conditions in this experiment.

There was no support for the existence of a link between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions, with only one of the sixteen regression equations reaching significance. While this result was in the expected direction, with behaviour consistent with the cultural stereotype being attributed internally and inconsistent behaviour being attributed externally, the overall results do not provide convincing support for the proposed

relationship. The results of the multiple regression between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions, indicating no significant link between them, are consistent with Hewstone and Jasper's (1984) point that

"Social attributions need not always be based on coherent and socially shared representations or stereotypes; they can arise from 'pure' ethnocentrism." (Hewstone and Jaspars, 1984, p398).

While the low level of bias displayed, relative to previous studies (Eg Stephan, 1977; Taylor and Jaggi, 1974), is surprising, the methodology employed here offers a more rigorous test of the relationship than the studies cited above. Specific shortcomings of previous research, relative to the present study, are outlined below.

Many of the studies (e.g., Taylor and Jaggi, 1974; Hewstone and Ward, 1985; Hewstone, Jaspars and Lalljee, 1982; Stephan, 1977) asked subjects to rate both ingroup and outgroup members during the same experimental session; this procedure may have induced an intergroup comparison, thus artifactually raising the differences between the ratings of the two groups.¹

Studies which have explored the cultural stereotype - causal attribution link primed category relevant information during the causal attribution phase, thus making the cultural stereotypes more accessible and raising problems of demand characteristics. For example, Taylor and Jaggi (1974), and Stephan (1977) measured cultural stereotypes before collecting causal attributions, thus imposing an intergroup response set on the subjects and perhaps leading to a greater reliance on the previously elicited cultural stereotypes.

¹Duncan (1976), Ho and Lloyd (1983), Sagar and Scoholfeld (1980), and Taylor and Mann (1974) did not explore the nature of the link, if any, between stereotypes and causal attributions as no attempt was made to measure the cultural stereotypes.

The process of priming operates by making a piece of information more accessible and results in that information being more likely to be retrieved from memory and being retrieved more quickly (Estes, 1988). The priming of a construct increases the likelihood that it will be used to process a subsequent stimulus (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi, 1985). Category accessibility is a major determinant of the way in which social information is encoded into memory and subsequently used to make judgements (Srull and Wyer, 1979). Most importantly, within the field of attribution theory Rholes and Pryor (1982) have shown that causes that are more accessible in memory are given more weight in causal judgements than less accessible causes.

Hewstone and Ward's (1985) study primed the cultural stereotypes during the collection of causal attributions as the causal attribution items were phrased in terms of the cultural stereotypes, with specific reference to the ethnicity of the actor. For example, subjects were presented with a behaviour such as "A Chinese shopkeeper short-changed you." and asked to select the most probable cause for this behaviour from different alternatives. These examples were often phrased in terms of stereotypic beliefs, e.g., "Because Chinese are dishonest". Thus the experiment may not have gained data on the perceived causes of a specified event but instead a general agreement or disagreement with a cultural stereotype.

A further difference between the present study and previous studies that should be noted is that my study referred to actors by names rather than by category labels (Eg Maori and Pakeha) during the causal attribution phase. Locksley and her colleagues (Locksley, Borgidia, Brekke and Hepburn, 1980; Locksley, Hepburn and Oritz, 1982a; Locksley, Hepburn and Oritz, 1982b) have hypothesized that the base rate fallacy may explain the effects of social stereotypes on judgements of individuals. They found that the presence of individuating information about a stimulus person substantially reduces

the effects of relevant stereotypic beliefs on judgements of that individual. When no case information about a stimulus person was available, judgements of an individual did reflect stereotypic beliefs. Thus, it could be argued that, providing actors' names instead of a category label increases individuating information; therefore subjects would have relied less on their stereotypic beliefs of that category when making judgements of the individual.

In summary, the accessibility of category information was diminished in this experiment compared with previous studies (e.g. Hewstone and Ward, 1985) for the following reasons:

- 1) Cultural stereotypes and causal attributions were collected in separate experimental sessions.
- 2) Actors in the causal attribution phase were identified by name only and not by category labels.
- 3) Possible causal explanations were not presented in terms of the category labels, instead subjects were required to produce their own causal explanations.
- 4) Each subject rated only one of the categories.

The decrease in the accessibility of the cultural stereotypes during the causal attribution phase may, in retrospect, explain the lack of evidence for a link between cultural stereotypes and causal attributions. This diminished accessibility may also explain the low level of bias shown in the causal attribution ratings, which was generally lower than that found in previous experiments of this nature (e.g., Hewstone and Ward, 1985).

My findings do not contradict the theory of social attribution as advanced by Pettigrew (1979) and Hewstone and Jaspars (1982; 1984). Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) discuss the concept of category accessibility in relation to social attribution, suggesting that the content of social representations, or cultural stereotypes, may serve to suggest possible causes, to make those causes more

'accessible'. Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) concluded that the effects found in previous empirical studies of intergroup attribution could be due to the increased accessibility of causal explanations based on social representations. In effect, cultural stereotypes make causal explanations based on those stereotypic beliefs more accessible during the collection of causal attributions.

The question now becomes one of the extent to which the 'categories' Maori and Pakeha are accessible in everyday interaction and, by extension, which experimental settings provide the closest analogs to everyday settings. Thus, the results raise questions about the conditions under which previous experimental findings in this area apply to everyday interaction. Future research should aim to explore this by experimentally manipulating the accessibility of category relevant information (based on cultural stereotypes) during the collection of causal attributions. The related issue of quantifying the degree of category relevant information accessed during everyday interaction, and by extension, what types of everyday settings tend to prime the cultural stereotypes, also needs to be addressed.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be suggested that this research has raised more questions than it has answered. The general failure of the mediational model, proposed in Figure two to emerge is mainly related to the failure of a significant link to emerge between cultural stereotypes and casual attributions. The relatively stronger links between cultural stereotypes and expectancies, and between expectancies and causal attributions, suggest that further empirical investigation of the proposed model may be a fruitful area of research. Such research should concentrate on the conditions that

promote the relation between stereotypes and causal attributions. The findings of this research suggest that the determinants of this link rely on the accessibility of the cultural stereotypes during the collection of causal attributions. Finally, the study of 'social attribution' can be seen as a worthwhile endeavour. By introducing changes and extensions inspired by the European tradition attribution theory can be made more powerful in a wider variety of social contexts, thereby countering criticisms made by Deschamps (1973-74) and strengthening its central position in social psychology.

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APPENDIX 1:

Subjects' Gender, Ethnicity And Age (In Brackets) By Experimental Grouping.

	RATING MAORIS			RATING PAKEHAS		
	TOTAL N	GENDER		TOTAL N	GENDER	
		MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE
MAORI	20 (15.75)	10 (15.60)	10 (15.90)	36 (15.59)	13 (15.85)	23 (15.44)
PAKEHA	62 (15.49)	21 (15.67)	41 (15.41)	57 (15.56)	22 (15.64)	35 (15.51)
SAMOAN	4 (16.50)	0	4 (16.50)	6 (16.16)	3 (16.33)	3 (16.00)
TONGAN	1 (18.00)	0	1 (18.00)	2 (16.50)	1 (16.00)	1 (17.00)
FIJIAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHINESE	0	0	0	1 (17.00)	0	1 (17.00)
INDIAN	1 (16.00)	1 (16.00)	..0	2 (16.00)	1 (16.00)	1 (16.00)
OTHER	7 (16.00)	2 (15.50)	5 (16.20)	8 (15.37)	2 (15.00)	6 (15.50)

Note: Only Maori and pakeha subjects were included in the analyses reported in this thesis.

APPENDIX 2:

Oliver and Vaughan (1988); A Study Of Ingroup And Outgroup Ethnic Attitudes Amongst Maori and Pakeha in Auckland Schools.

Method:

The study involved fifth formers only at four Auckland Schools, chosen because of the substantial racial mix in those schools. In each school a free-response questionnaire was distributed by the experimenter under usual class conditions to three racially mixed fifth form classes. Distribution was preceded by a introduction describing the purpose of the study. The written instructions were explained, and questions allowed to clarify any uncertainties. Anonymity of the task was emphasised, as was individual performance of the task. A full class period (40 - 50 minutes) was allowed for completion. Subjects could request assistance from the experimenter at any stage to clarify the instructions. When all subjects had completed the task, items of personal information were added to the questionnaires (i.e., gender, date of birth, and ethnicity).

Results

Because the free-response method used allowed subjects to use single words, phrases, or sentences, the data were content analysed by developing a unique set of categories, each category representing words of similar meaning. The validity of this categorical system was tested by inter-observer and intra-observer reliability checks. The majority of the categories formulated applied to both target groups, but some categories were created to meet characteristics attributed to only one of the target groups.

MAORI AS SEEN BY

MAORI (N = 25)		PAKEHA (N = 90)	
	%		%
NICE/ GOOD	72	NICE/ GOOD	34
KIND/ LOVING/ CARING	56	STREETKIDS/ GLUESNIFFERS	
	34		
STREETKIDS/ GLUESNIFFERS	44	FRIENDLY/ SOCIABLE	29
PROUD OF THEIR CULTURE	32	RASCIST/ PREJUDICED	21
HAPPY/ GOOD FUN (PARTIES)	32	VIOLENT/ AGGRESSIVE	
	20		
FRIENDLY/ SOCIABLE	28	PROUD OF THEIR CULTURE	20
UNTIDY/ DIRTY	28	KIND/ LOVING/ CARING	19
HARDWORKING	25	"THINK THEY OWN NEW	
		ZEALAND"	
	19		
RUDE/ BAD MANNERED	25	ARROGANT/ CONCEITED	17
BELLIGERENT/ VIOLENT	20	LAZY	12
RASCIST	18	DIRTY/ POOR LIVING	
		STANDARDS	14
MEAN/ UNFRIENDLY	18	SCRUFFY/ UNTIDY	10
DRINK TOO MUCH	18	CREATIVE/ TALENTED	10
WELL-MANNERED	18	CRIMINALS	14
		EASY-GOING/ CASUAL	13
		DRINK TOO MUCH	9
		DOPESMOKERS	9

PAKEHA AS SEEN BY

MAORI (N = 25)		PAKEHA (N = 90)	
	%		%
SNOBS/ POSH	56	RASCIST/ PREJUDICED	37
RICH/ AFFLUENT	45	FRIENDLY/ SOCIABLE	31
CLEVER/ EDUCATED	45	NICE/ GOOD	30
NICE/ GOOD	40	KIND/ LOVING/ CARING	24
FRIENDLY/ SOCIABLE	36	CLEVER/ EDUCATED	22
KIND/ LOVING/ CARING	32	LEADERS/ BOSSES/ RULERS	21
APPEARANCE CONSCIOUS	32	HARDWORKING/ AMBITIOUS	
	20		
RASCIST	32	MATERIALIST	18
WELL-MANNERED	20	RICH/ AFFLUENT	17
PROFITEERS/ EXPLOITERS	18	SELFISH/ SELF CENTRED	17
CLEAN	18	SNOBS/ POSH	16
CONCEITED/ ACT 'SUPERIOR'	18	APPEARANCE CONSCIOUS	
	15		
HARDWORKING	18	HELPFUL/ GOOD FRIENDS	14
"LOTS OF THEM"	18	CONCEITED/ 'SUPERIOR'	14
		MEAN/ UNFRIENDLY	14
		DECEITFUL/ BACKSTABBERS	
	14		
		WELL MANNERED/ CIVILISED	
	14		
		LOUDMOUTHS/ SHOWOFFS	13
		CLEAN/ TIDY	13

APPENDIX 3

Cultural Stereotype/ Desirability Questionnaire.

Vividly imagine a typical Maori and rate how well the following personality characteristics describe this person. Circle one number on each scale.

1. Aggressive	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
2. Appearance Conscious	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
3. Caring	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
4. Clever	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
5. Confident	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
6. Conceited	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
7. Dirty	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
8. Friendly	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
9. Gets in trouble	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
10. Hardworking	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
11. Kind	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
12. Lazy	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
13. Proud	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
14. Rich	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
15. Selfish	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well
16. Snobbish	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very well

Please rate how desirable you think it is for a Maori to be described by the following words. Circle one number on each scale

1. Aggressive									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
2. Appearance Conscious									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
3. Caring									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
4. Clever									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
5. Confident									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
6. Conceited									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
7. Dirty									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
8. Friendly									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
9. Gets in trouble									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
10. Hardworking									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
11. Kind									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
12. Lazy									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
13. Proud									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
14. Rich									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
15. Selfish									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	
16. Snobbish									
Not at all desirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very desirable	

Please answer the following questions about yourself
Are you a male or female (please circle one).

Male
Female

Please tick what race you belong to.

Maori	Fijian
Pakeha	Chinese
Samoaan	Indian
Tongan	Other

How old are you (in years) ?

APPENDIX 4:

Expectancy/ Causal Attribution Questionnaire

On each of the following eight pages there is a short statement about a particular action performed by someone.

After you have read this you will be asked to rate, on a seven point scale, how expected or unexpected you would find this behaviour.

You will then be asked to write down what you think is the single major cause of the person acting in that way.

After you have written down this cause you will be asked to rate it (the cause) on five separate scales.

Please make sure that you have completed each of these tasks for one behaviour before turning on to the next page.

Before starting this task please answer the three questions about yourself at the bottom of this page.

Are you a male or female (please circle one).

Male

Female

Please tick what race you belong to.

Maori

Pakeha

Samoan

Tongan

Fijian

Chinese

Indian

Other

How old are you (in years) ?

Brett came first in your history exam.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Brett came first in the exam?

Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Brett?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Brett?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Dale studied alot for a geography report.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Dale studied alot?
Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Dale?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Dale?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Jamie tried to cheer you up when you were depressed.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Jamie tried to cheer you up?
Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Jamie?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Jamie?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Kerry invited you to come to a party.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Kerry invited you to the party?
Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Kerry?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Kerry?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Robin refused to lend you a calculator even though it wasn't being used.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Robin refused to lend you the calculator?
Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Robin?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Robin?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Chris bragged to you about doing well in the school sports.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Chris bragged?

Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Chris?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Chris?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Lindsey had a fight with a class- mate.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Lindsey had a fight?
Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Lindsey?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Lindsey?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Lee was suspended from school.

How unexpected would you find this behaviour?

Very unexpected 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very expected

Why do you think Lee was suspended?

Please write down the one major cause.

.....

To what extent is this cause due to something about Lee?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause due to something about the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause something that is stable and permanent (always there) or unstable and temporary (comes and goes)?

Stable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unstable

To what extent is this cause controlled by Lee?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

To what extent is this cause controlled by the situation?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

APPENDIX 5

Mean Ratings Of How Characteristic Each Of The Traits In The Cultural Stereotype/ Desirability Questionnaire Is Across The Four Experimental Cells.

MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS
MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS
AGGRESSIVE	3.71	3.41	4.37
APPEARANCE	3.95	4.90	3.72
CONSCIOUS			5.06
CARING	4.62	4.63	3.85
CLEVER	4.05	4.80	3.66
CONFIDENT	4.05	4.80	3.66
CONCEITED	2.95	4.10	3.59
DIRTY	3.38	3.00	3.39
FRIENDLY	4.81	4.83	4.37
GETS IN TROUBLE	4.29	3.68	4.51
HARD - - WORKING	4.19	4.63	3.79
KIND	4.38	4.76	4.09
LAZY	3.38	3.59	3.89
PROUD	4.81	4.61	4.64
RICH	3.43	4.66	3.29
SELFISH	2.81	3.85	3.71
SNOBBISH	2.30	4.02	2.96

APPENDIX 6

Mean Ratings Of How Desirable Each Of The Personality Traits In The Cultural Stereotype/ Desirability Questionnaireq Is Rated Across The Four Experimental Cells.

	MAORIS RATING		PAKEHAS RATING	
	MAORIS	PAKEHAS	MAORIS	PAKEHAS
AGGRESSIVE	3.25	3.12	3.52	3.07
APPEARANCE CONSCIOUS	3.70	4.61	4.24	4.80
CARING	4.55	4.95	4.83	5.28
CLEVER	4.15	5.05	4.23	5.09
CONFIDENT	4.40	4.78	4.73	5.22
CONCEITED	2.85	3.61	2.87	3.23
DIRTY	2.60	2.95	2.75	2.56
FRIENDLY	5.25	5.07	5.00	5.56
GETS IN TROUBLE	2.85	3.00	3.55	3.08
HARD - - WORKING	4.85	4.88	4.68	5.24
KIND	4.85	4.54	4.66	5.31
LAZY	3.30	2.98	3.35	2.95
PROUD	5.10	4.39	4.58	4.81
RICH	3.75	4.95	3.85	4.27
SELFISH	3.00	3.44	2.93	2.78
SNOBBISH	2.70	3.27	2.51	2.69

APPENDIX 7A:

Means, Standard Deviations and Item-Total Correlations For The Attribution Scale For Maori Subjects Rating Maori Targets.

		MEAN	SD	ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATIONS
MAORI POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.04	2.87	0.5273
	EXTERNAL	7.56	4.13	0.5991
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.22	2.84	0.5710
	EXTERNAL	7.48	4.46	0.3625
MAORI NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	9.69	2.10	0.2187
	EXTERNAL	9.30	2.16	0.3169
CONTROL	INTERNAL	8.43	3.64	0.0184
	EXTERNAL	8.22	2.43	0.4112
PAKEHA POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.91	2.84	0.6931
	EXTERNAL	9.17	4.36	0.6259
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.83	2.84	0.5751
	EXTERNAL	8.83	3.18	0.3938
PAKEHA NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.30	4.02	0.2367
	EXTERNAL	8.30	3.18	0.5413
CONTROL	INTERNAL	8.61	4.30	0.0440
	EXTERNAL	8.52	2.35	0.3951

APPENDIX 7B:

Means, Standard Deviations and Item-Total Correlations For The Attribution Scale For Maori Subjects Rating Pakeha Targets.

		MEAN	SD	ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATIONS
MAORI POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.90	2.27	0.4285
	EXTERNAL	9.69	3.10	0.3332
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.29	2.67	0.2954
	EXTERNAL	9.05	3.27	0.5232
MAORI NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	9.74	3.22	0.3986
	EXTERNAL	9.86	2.87	0.3560
CONTROL	INTERNAL	8.93	4.51	0.2064
	EXTERNAL	8.36	3.16	0.4263
PAKEHA POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	11.69	1.93	0.2720
	EXTERNAL	9.45	3.41	0.3964
CONTROL	INTERNAL	11.81	2.15	0.4252
	EXTERNAL	9.26	2.66	0.2271
PAKEHA NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.55	3.28	0.2598
	EXTERNAL	8.86	2.48	0.2187
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.38	3.59	0.2277
	EXTERNAL	8.33	3.10	0.2653

APPENDIX 7C:

Means, Standard Deviations and Item-Total Correlations For The Attribution Scale For Pakeha Subjects Rating Maori Targets.

		MEAN	SD	ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATIONS
MAORI POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.79	2.57	0.3877
	EXTERNAL	8.39	3.79	0.2958
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.39	2.97	0.4843
	EXTERNAL	7.82	3.47	0.4515
MAORI NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	9.64	3.78	0.2729
	EXTERNAL	9.24	2.76	0.3078
CONTROL	INTERNAL	9.30	3.79	0.3604
	EXTERNAL	8.32	2.80	0.2164
PAKEHA POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	11.20	2.51	0.4733
	EXTERNAL	9.12	3.44	0.3127
CONTROL	INTERNAL	11.62	2.49	0.6716
	EXTERNAL	9.35	2.65	0.3673
PAKEHA NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.41	3.35	0.4398
	EXTERNAL	9.10	2.64	0.3421
CONTROL	INTERNAL	9.95	3.86	0.3972
	EXTERNAL	8.41	2.85	0.2410

APPENDIX 7D:

Means, Standard Deviations and Item-Total Correlations For The Attribution Scale For Pakeha Subjects Rating Pakeha Targets.

		MEAN	SD	ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATIONS
MAORI POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.66	2.98	0.4237
	EXTERNAL	10.21	3.01	0.4372
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.43	3.01	0.4370
	EXTERNAL	9.39	3.47	0.3576
MAORI NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	9.93	3.81	0.3698
	EXTERNAL	10.18	2.52	0.6167
CONTROL	INTERNAL	9.79	4.04	0.5104
	EXTERNAL	9.57	2.76	0.5668
PAKEHA POSITIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	11.84	1.86	0.4145
	EXTERNAL	9.84	3.33	0.3756
CONTROL	INTERNAL	11.70	2.48	0.4663
	EXTERNAL	9.46	2.65	0.5096
PAKEHA NEGATIVE				
LOCUS	INTERNAL	10.66	3.43	0.3842
	EXTERNAL	8.52	2.48	0.5314
CONTROL	INTERNAL	10.41	3.63	0.4375
	EXTERNAL	8.70	2.48	0.4161